1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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852 and is held again on two favourable days in the latter half of the
561 same month.

562 The next month, Kasanga, the three girls' associations pay a counter-visit, bringing gifts to the house of the *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman*, each association on its own day. These ceremonial visits back and forth are then repeated at set times.

[554] The *tĕrunas nyoman* continue to live with their *guru* for a year,
86 passing the night in his *bale buga*. His instruction includes *adat*,
561 religious stipulations, and secret incantations that may not be
562 revealed to anyone from outside the *desa* or set down in writing.
875 But also ordinary school subjects such as reading, arithmetic, and knowledge of the *kidungs*, Old Javanese writings, and chronology are taught, in as far as the *guru* has the knowledge to teach them.

[593] The parents do not have to pay any expenses or school fees for this stay at the *guru*'s house, and are only responsible for providing the boys with food. The boys themselves, however, have to spend
[431] quite a bit on gifts for the girls, so that at the beginning of the period they need to borrow money, to be repaid by the year's end. Consequently the pupils spend their free time doing all sorts of odd jobs for money to be saved in their treasury. At the end of the period they use this money to pay their debts, and the surplus is divided equally.

During their apprenticeship the *tĕrunas nyoman* must follow their *guru*'s commands and the constitution of their association strictly. The latter describes some of the boys' obligations – for example they must stand watch at their *guru*'s house, armed with a creese and a blowpipe, they must set his betel ready and go with him to the bathing place, and they must accompany the village girls on their processions. And it lists certain regulations regarding propriety in clothing, speech, and behaviour. They may not enter the *guru*'s sleeping place, visit their parents' home without permission, nor return to the *guru*'s dwelling after midnight. They are also prohibited to cross the Buhu River during their apprenticeship. Violations are punished by a warning or a fine of thirty-three, sixty-six, or a hundred doits. Three warnings are followed by a fine of thirty-three doits.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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 A child is

858 often called *idewa*, " a god "; he is not considered responsible for his actions, because, as they say, " his mind is still undeveloped " and it is the god within him that acts through his body. At home
861 there is no regular discipline and no pampering; the parents do not intimidate their child, but rather coax him into obedience as an equal. And he is never beaten; if a mother loses patience and strikes her child, he would, in all probability, strike back and she would be mortified and would grieve over her rash impulse. The sensible Balinese say that if a child is beaten his tender soul will be seriously damaged.

851 Frequently the father is inclined to be more demonstrative than the mother, and it is common to see a man with his child
[593] in his arms, taking him everywhere and talking to him as if he were a grown-up. It is extremely rare to hear a child cry. Thus the child grows among other children as a member of a children's republic, with an independent life of its own. Often groups of children go out on expeditions, remaining away from home all day. When they get hungry they can buy food from a public stand with the pennies that are given to them every day. Only by the independence and lack of pampering can one explain the well-mannered seriousness and the self-sufficiency of Balinese children. With no special behaviour set for children apart from
858 that of grown-ups, the mentality of a Balinese child develops quickly. Nothing is hidden from him; he listens to all conversa-
[864] tions of grown people and observes the acts of animals, so his sexual education begins as soon as he is able to talk. A child in Bali knows facts about which an adolescent in the West is totally ignorant, and we knew children under five who could make erotic jokes. Their sense of responsibility became patent to me when I became the guest of a small boy in whose house I had spent the night. The next morning he took me for a walk to see his village, showed me the temples, and introduced me to the local prince; then we went to the market to see the good-looking girls of the village and he told me the story of the love affairs of each, while

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yellow, and white string, weighted at the ends with *kepengs*. These were passed under the arms and across the backs of the bride and groom, the four ends held by the priest while he recited a prayer. Then the ends of the ropes were crossed over their chests and thrown back. The priest gave the couple a ladle of holy water to drink, and continued praying while the couple fanned towards themselves the essence of the prayer, doing the same again when the priest held in front of them a bundle made of the coloured ropes, which in the meantime had been removed by the attendants. The ceremony concluded with a long prayer (*maweda*) performed by the priest towards *kangin*; a combination of Sanskrit formulas recited silently, accompanied by swift and intricate gestures of the hands, alternated with ringing a bell and flinging away various sorts of flowers. After the purification the banquet was served and the guests spent the rest of the night watching plays and dances.

The woman "follows" the man and lives in his home. Either the eldest or the youngest son inherits the paternal home, but other sons usually build a house of their own on an empty lot given by the village to a newly-wed couple. The first duty of the man is then to build a temporary *sanggah kemulan*, his family shrine, made of bamboo and thatch, which is replaced later on by a more solid structure of brick and wood, when the old one has fallen into decay. It may happen, however, that a man commits *nyebuhin*, going to live in the house of the girl with whom he is infatuated. A man who runs after a girl in this manner is disgraced; he loses all rights to the paternal home and lives as a servant of the girl's family. The opposite may also happen and a *ngungahin* marriage takes place, when a girl, supposedly bewitched, forces herself upon a man.

Ordinarily there is at home a strong feeling of equality, of politeness, and friendly frankness in the relationship between husband and wife, and the woman is by no means the proverbial slave of Oriental countries. She is well aware of her rights, she

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593 manages the house and the finances of the family, and at times
562 she even keeps her husband. We have seen that the majority of the women of average class work and have their own incomes.
[422] They own their clothes, their jewellery, and the household uten-
[428] sils, as well as the pigs and chickens of the house. The man, of course, owns the house itself, the ricefields, the cattle, and his implements, and inheritance is invariably along the male line. The woman has absolute rights over her income and owns her share of the money earned by their combined efforts, although the husband is the administrator of this money. In general the
[592] man is the acknowledged master of the household and represents the family before the law and before the gods, who are his own ancestors.

841 But once a month, during menstrual time, a wife's life is not a happy one; to her physical handicap is added the powerful taboo of pollution (*sebel*) which then falls upon her: she is forbidden to go into the temple, into the kitchen or the granary, or to the well. She may not prepare food nor, of course, make offerings or participate at feasts, and the wife of a high priest may not even speak to her exalted husband. No man would dream of sleeping in the same room with a woman in this condition; the average man moves into the house of a friend, but the wife of a nobleman has to look for a place to sleep, far from her husband. In the palace of a prince there is often a secluded compartment where his wives retire while menstruating. When the period is over, a woman has to be purified again with sprinkling of holy water before she can resume normal life. Perhaps because the Balinese
[754] believe that a man can be bewitched, losing all his will to the woman who can anoint his head with menstrual blood, they have such mortal horror of being near a woman during the time of menstruation.

595 The Balinese are reputedly polygamous, but the great majority
162 — about ninety-five per cent — have only one wife. It was generally believed that there are considerably more women than men in Bali, but the last census (1930) gives the figures as 561,874

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

great extent, been forgotten. Only on the symbolic level do they remain true and valid for the culture which practices them; they are the ways through which the underlying ethos of the culture is expressed, through which it lives and continues to perpetuate itself.

Every married pair may constitute a household, a ***koeren***, the unit of the village or ward (*bandjar*). Usually, in a household of a number of children, one of the sons remains in the paternal house while the others move out and set up establishments of their own as they come to maturity and marry. The paternal house passes to the son who remains at home; as the old man reaches the age of superannuation it is this son who represents the household at the village meetings and who does the work apportioned by the village, the temple, the irrigation unit (*soebak*), or the higher authority of the district official government. It is characteristic of the Balinese system that it is the youngest son, not the eldest, who remains at home and inherits the father's house.

Age and Sex Typing. The Balinese have their own special view of the distinction between the sexes and of the differences or lack of differences between them at different times in the cycle of life. The most important point is the complementariness of the sexes, male and female together making up an entity, completing each other. Like the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, the theme male and female (*loch mocwani*) is endlessly repeated and recurrent in every context from the description of the gods to the terms for a carpenter's joining. But, beside this complementariness, there are areas where the distinction between the sexes seems quite irrelevant, the two sexes are interchangeable. Thus, though it is a patrilineal society, and a man must have a son to carry on his ancestral line, if he has no son, a daughter will do. The daughter then substitutes for the son. Various sorts of priestly functions may be carried out by women as well as by men; diviners, healers of one sort or another, godly spokesmen, all these are as likely to be male as female—the women have no monopoly here over hysterical manifestations. Little child dancers may be boys, or girls, or boys dressed as girls, or girls dressed as boys. There is a happy indeterminacy in all of these roles. In the very young, and in the very old, the difference in sex is of no consequence.

Only for purposes of mating is it felt necessary to keep the two sexes distinct. During the years of young courtship there is rather more emphasis on the difference between male and female. There are divisions of labor, between men's work and women's work, which serve to emphasize the difference as the skills are being acquired, but, once a young man and a young girl are married, they form a unit, a "household" (***koeren***) in which either one may act for the pair. They are like partners, of whom either one can

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only a fear-inspiring figure, but that she is Fear. Her hands with their long menacing fingernails do not clutch and claw at her victims, although children who play at being witches do curl their hands in just such a gesture. But the Witch herself spreads her arms with palms out and her fingers flexed backward, in the gesture which the Balinese call *kaget*, a term which they apply to the sudden startled reaction of a man who falls from a tree. The Witch reconstitutes the figure of the mother, not only as the teasing, powerful, unsatisfying person who aroused one's emotions only to throw one back upon oneself, but also as the person who cried "Snake!" and "Wildcat!" and so drew the child to her bosom by a display of fear. Only when we see the Witch as herself afraid, as well as frightening, is it possible to explain her appeal and the pathos which surrounds her as she dances, hairy, forbidding, tusked, and alone, giving her occasional high eerie laugh."[a]

That the fear component in Balinese character structure should be projected onto a figure which itself plays fear is quite congruent with what has been called the narcissistic character of these people—the self-contained, somewhat aloof bearing in interpersonal relations and the concern with self, the tendency to turn own affect into artistic products, music and dance, rather than to be concerned with goals and mastery techniques or with affect oriented toward another person.

Interrogation of informants corroborated the hypothesis that fear and the teaching of fear were associated, even on a conscious level, more closely with the mother than with the father. For example, one informant said, "My father taught me not to say what I thought and not to believe what others said; my mother taught me, when I went to a strange village, to beware of eating any food." Further corroboration is given in the complacency and assurance with which the Balinese admits to fear, an outstanding fact in this culture which I noted a number of years ago in a first attempt to outline what I called "the Balinese temper."[a] For Europeans and Americans brought up to value courage and to be ashamed to fear, it was at first surprising to find a Balinese happily stating "Sing bani," "I do not dare," as if he expected approval for his lack of daring. Indeed, where mothers consistently frighten their young children, as Mead and Bateson have shown that the Balinese do, in order to teach them the right way to behave and how to avoid dangers in the outside world, a demonstration of one's awareness of danger would meet with maternal approval and, by extension, could be offered in later life as an aspect of one's character for which one could expect to be generally approved. Where, in our culture, parents speak of "putting the fear of God into him" when they want to make a good child,

[a] *Ibid*, pp. 35-36.
[a] Belo, 1935, p. 139.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

these knives out of their hands throughout the day of the ceremony.

A fire was burning on the hearth in the parents' room. At the Balian's direction the mother took a handful of dried corn from an offering-plate and cast it into a new clay pot which rested over the flames. She stirred the corn about until it was brown. Then father and mother had to reach three times into the pot and eat a grain of corn. After the third time the father raised the pot and smashed it on the stones of the hearth.

Someone handed the father a torch of dry grass which he lit at the fire. He came out, bearing his false twin, his knife, and his torch, to set fire to his house. The mother followed with her child. The Balian repeated a short prayer, and then performed a final rite. In one of the offerings stood two cones of rice tied together at the top with a bit of thread, a *kèpèng* strung on to each. The top of each cone he pinched off, then he broke the joining thread. He rose, came out of the house, shut and bolted the door on the outside. None of the evil which was in that house must escape.

The villagers bearing torches lit from the father's fire set the house burning. In ten minutes the flames were leaping high, threatening the nearby forest. The Balian, the mother and the father, with a group of villagers and friends, stood on the hillside watching until the house crumbled to ashes.

It may be translated:

Mother, whoever you are, when you go to bathe, bind tightly your breasts, take care to bring with you mĕsui bark (cortex sp.), and a dull knife with an onion as charm.

Many wicked people threaten on the highway, evil spirits in the form of flying foxes, which suck at hanging breasts, taking their place at the breasts, so that no milk comes out.

Take into account that trouble brings death, even though the belly is filled, the baby is the cause of the trouble, and if bereaved, who will there be to envy?

The trouble is that the child was born as a girl, her mother loves her, her father would wish her dead, but while she lives, her mother will take care of her.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrangement of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

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The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.[9]

Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks,* living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks,* or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

[9] For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

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and woman to be caused when the male organ finally achieves contact with the *manik*.[10]

Although a free display of the affection between the sexes, except in private, is forbidden, the Balinese have a strong tendency to hold on to and caress each other in all relations where no sexual connotation is implied. Fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, love to fondle the young children, to press their faces into them and "sniff" them, just as in the relation between a man and a woman. Two girls, two boys, or two bearded ancients will stroll along a road holding hands, or with their arms about each other. Such gestures should not be misconstrued as evidences of homosexuality, for they are no more than the habitual expressions of a demonstratively affectionate people.

Manifestations of anger are remarked much less frequently than those of love, fear, and affection in the everyday life. An equable temper is certainly the characteristic one among the Balinese. If a man is easily angered, he is said to have *kapala angin*, a Malay expression meaning "a windy head." Although one often hears voices raised in explosive and admonitory speech, they can hardly be said to be expressing anger, for among the adults, as among the children, superiors have always the right to call down their inferiors, an elder brother to speak harshly to a younger, a man to "order" (never simply to ask) his wife to do something for him. Each Balinese is habituated to thinking of himself as relatively more or less powerful than all the other members of his familiar group. And if he is less powerful, he obeys naturally and usually without remonstrance. By contrast, in larger groups, such as communal organizations, whose members are on a less intimate footing with each other, great care is taken to preserve the equality between the members. Each man is reluctant to appear to be giving an order or dictating in any way to his social equal. For this reason, in any group of workers the man whom we would call the "foreman" seems always inefficient and lacking in administrative powers; and the resulting accomplish-

[10] The reproductive function of semen is not unknown to them, as is illustrated in the popular legend of the creation of Kala, to whom Civa gave birth alone, by producing a single drop of semen. The parallel with the *manik* idea is, however, interestingly carried out in the legend, for it is only on being repeatedly struck by the arrows of the gods that the drop of semen becomes alive, gets arms and legs, a head, genitals, etc., and finally stands up and shouts, a fully formed Kala. It is difficult to tell whether the theme of the repeated striking refers to the rhythmic motion of copulation, or to an idea that a single sexual act is not sufficient to cause the development of the embryo, and that the man must continue to "strike" during gestation, so that the child will grow.

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ment has a lively, if haphazard, character, brought about by the enthusiasm of the various individuals working together virtually without a leader. One has the impression that it is fear of angering his fellows which prevents the Balinese from assuming a dominant attitude towards persons outside of his familiar group.

When anger does appear, it usually follows the pattern of the Malay "running amok," also recognized in Bali. The literature is filled with episodes in which a man, even a prince or Radja, who is overcome with grief or thwarted in his desires, "becomes confused in his mind, and retires to his sleeping-apartment, where he lies for many days and many nights, refusing both food and drink." This brooding state is the first stage in the pattern, when the man remains alone, nursing his grievances, until he has worked himself into a trance-like state, and he will have the strength to rush out and commit deeds of violence. Tales of warriors describe the stirring up of anger before going into combat; and all war dances have brooding passages interspersed between the gestures and expressions of fierce and terrifying advance. Bravery in itself is not highly valued. It is considered more natural for a man to be under the sway of fear than of anger. A man shows no embarrassment over his fear—he says quite simply "I do not dare," whether the project in question is a midnight visit to the graveyard, or climbing a coconut tree on a day of the astrological calendar when it is forbidden. The things which a man will not dare to do are those which the experience of his forbears have shown to be unwise, and to behave with intrepidity without good reason would be to court disaster, not only for himself but perhaps for the whole community.

Deviants

We have seen that in such a social scheme each individual has his place, and he has only to do what is expected of him to fit with nicety into the life of the group. But there are occasions when an individual finds it impossible to conform, and at these times disturbance and maladjustment appear. Certain temperaments, for instance, are not amenable to the national habit of submissive obedience. Women with fiery dispositions may run away from their husbands, taking shelter with their own families, and refusing to return, or departing with a lover.[11] A small boy of eight told the following story of his

[11] For cases of runaway wives see the author's "Study of a Balinese Family," *American Anthropologist*, 1936, XXXVIII, No. 1 (in press).

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rebellion against his father's authority, the events described having occurred when he was no more than six or seven:

"My father beat my mother too hard, and I became too angry. Then my father beat me very hard. I followed him when he went out to work in the ricefields. I took money from the pocket of his jacket which he had laid down on the edge of the fields. I ran away. For a month I did not go home.

"With the money I bought rice in the market, and I stayed out all day in the rice fields, and I never saw my father and my mother. At night I would go into the house of one of my other fathers (uncles) and sleep with the children. My father and mother did not know where I was. Then one day my mother saw me. She wept, and begged me to come home. I went home.

"My father was only silent."

In this encounter, since the father did not beat him on his return, the child seems to have triumphed over the man.

Another deviant is Madé, who rebelled not so much against paternal authority as against the prescribed rules of tradition. He is a young man of impulsive temperament, with ways unusually quick and nervous in a Balinese, quick to laugh and quick to be angered, extremely efficient when engaged in tasks which interest him, lazy and unreliable at all other tasks. Born in a small hamlet far from the town, and at several miles' distance from the motor road, he decided when still a boy to become a chauffeur. He left his farmer parents, and went to live with relatives in the town. There he attended school, learned to speak Malay, and began to pick up from older boys the knowledge of his chosen trade. He served his apprenticeship with them, receiving their teaching in return for the performance of menial duties. When he had sufficient knowledge, he in turn got a job as chauffeur, and was able to marry, buying with the money he earned the rice which he had not been able to raise on his family land. (So strong is the farming background in Balinese life that any man who has had employment and loses it automatically goes back to tilling the land until he can find new work.) Although Madé is skillful as a driver and mechanic, he is not very successful. The very qualities which made him turn from the environment and occupation to which he was born, and to which his forbears had for generations conformed, impede his progress as a chauffeur. He refuses to carry out orders unless it pleases him. He is impatient with any part of his work which is not mechanical.

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glih, and this appellation is still more polite and proper to be used by strangers, equals, and inferiors. All his younger brothers and cousins call him bli, elder brother. His own children, his nephews, and the children of his first and second cousins on both the male and the female sides call him bapă, father. In speaking of him, the children of his younger brothers and cousins may call him oeă, elder uncle (or aunt). His wife generally calls him bli, elder brother, or Ketoet, his title-name, and sometimes even bapă, as the father of her children. She, as his inferior, may not call him by his given name, Rendah. But he may call her by her given name, although he is more likely to use her title name, or to call her mémé, mother. When Tingglih's first child is born, Rendah and Rieh will be known as Pekak —— and Dadong ——, Grandfather of —— and Grandmother of —— followed by the given name of the child. Thus a man's own name tends to die out even during his own lifetime, as he grows older, and there is no one left to "speak down" to him. During this investigation I asked Rendah for the name of his own mother, who lives in the house with him. He could not remember, and was forced to inquire of the old lady herself. Her husband, Rendah's father, had been dead only six months. He alone of the household had the right to call her by her given name, and if Rendah could not remember it, the old man must not have availed himself of the right for many years.

Rendah's eldest sister, Wajan Koti, was married, and later "thrown away." She returned to her father's house. As Rendah has inherited house and household, she now lives within his courts, sharing in the work of the women.

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prince), penawing, wife from lower caste, and sang keringan, concubine ("married to the kris" when already pregnant). (Princes may take concubines without marriage ceremonies, but if a concubine is going to bear the prince a child, the ceremonies are carried out with the substitution of the prince's kris, borne by his high priest, in place of the bridegroom—so that the child may be made legitimate, although the mother is of lower caste.)

Brothers, sisters, and all relatives are called njamă (low) or semotonan (high). Elder brothers and sisters are called kakă. To address an older sister, or in polite usage any female older than one's self, mbok is used; to address younger brothers, sisters, or relatives, or in speaking of them, adi is used.

Child in the sense of "the child of ——" is pianak. For "a child" or "children," there is no word. Anak tjenik (polite) or anak tjerik (familiar) are substituted, which mean simply "small man." Anak in Malay means child in either of the above senses, but in Balinese it means man or person, as anak Bali, a Balinese, anak loeh, a woman.

Grandchildren are called tjoetjoe, great-grandchildren kelab or boejoet. Male and female great-grandparents are called koempi or koempiang.

Finally there are the terms matoeă, father-in-law, mantoe, son-in-law, and ipah, used for either brother- or sister-in-law.

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younger brother, putting most of the heavy work upon him. But it is true that Rendah is not strong and that Dog is not very bright.

Dog and his wife Rawi have no children. This is a tragedy to the Balinese. Rendah has recently allowed them to "adopt"[3] one of his little girls, Dajoeh. It would not seem to be a very serious change for the child, as they all live together in the same court, and she, with her brothers and sisters, has always called their aunt and uncle by the same names as their mother and father, mémé and bapă. However, Dajoeh senses a difference, and follows Rawi about, always at her heels like a young colt.

The eighth child of Rendah's father was a girl, Ketoet Djinar, who married and went to live in Njéstanan, a different bandjar of the same village. She is in and out of Rendah's house, helping when there is heavy work with the harvest, rice-pounding, or special preparations for a temple festival. But she neither eats nor sleeps there regularly.

The mother of all these children, whose name, she remembered, was Kintil, is of course also a member of the household. She continues to sleep in the place of honor, the balé săkănem, which in her husband's time she shared with him. Although the old man had been for several years in his dotage, unable to fulfill his functions in the village council (where he was represented by Rendah), and rather pushed aside by his grandchildren, Kintil is still a vigorous old woman in full possession of her faculties, respected and esteemed by all the household.

On the plan of Rendah's house (fig. 4) it will be seen that of the space enclosed by the walls the "highest," that is, the northeast corner, towards the mountains and the abode of the gods, is reserved for the household shrines. The balé săkănem is an elevated open pavilion, on a stone foundation, whose thatch roof is supported by six wooden pillars. There is a brick wall at the back, the other three sides are open. The space between four pillars forms a sleeping-place, a raised platform built between the pillars. Here the grandmother sleeps, sometimes with one or two of the children.

The metèn is a house with mud-walls enclosing two sleeping platforms, and outside, on the porch formed by the overhanging roof, are two more sleeping places, with curtains of red print material. Newly married young people, and young unmarried girls sleep in such inner rooms—they have reasons for privacy, or must be protected. Here the two girls Ngetis and Dajoeh usually sleep. Rendah sleeps on the porch, in the "higher" bed, towards the east, often with one of his little sons. His wife occupies the other outer bed. The baby sleeps with her, or in fact any of the younger

[3] The term is anak ngidih, "asked-for person."

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Rendah said to me, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to her cousin, whose house is across the street, "I would rather roegi [take a financial loss] than to have my child marry away from home. If she married in another village, I should have the money, but my heart would be sick."

Such a remark, reflecting a sentiment of paternal devotion, must not be taken only at its face value. The Balinese, like other races, often say things which "sound well," but do not render their complete thought process, and are therefore misleading. It is not to be assumed that a man like Rendah, in giving away his daughter to her cousin, is actually casting to the winds a profit of ten or twenty thousand kepengs, having weighed them as nothing beside the possibility of losing sight of his child. Certainly he would prefer to have her near home. But to have her marry into a family with which he already has an established relation of favors given and received is more satisfactory than to set up a new link with a family of comparative strangers. And if he should accept compensation, he would be sanctioning a system which would not profit him in the end, for might not his own sons then have to pay for their brides? It would seem that these indebtedness relations are best carried on within the family group.

In connection with this it must be mentioned that sister-exchange between parallel cousins, maternal or paternal, is not permitted. This statement was made to me by various informants. None mentioned the prohibition of sister-exchange between cross-cousins, nor between unrelated families. I did not find any reference to sister-exchange in Balinese texts. The term used for the forbidden sister-exchange of parallel cousins is malik-terbalik, meaning a reversal, a going and coming. Malik may be a Balinese form of the root balik, although balik or walik are those commonly used in other connections; terbalik is definitely a Malay form, foreign to the Balinese language. But as many informants speak Malay fluently, and consider it a more polite usage to foreigners, the form of the term is not a proof of the late introduction of the taboo.

The difference in the two marriage schemes, that of the arranged marriage as against the marriage by abduction, reflects on the divorce. A woman may be "thrown away" by her husband for various reasons: she is barren, quarrelsome, or unfaithful. She may either return to her father's house, or, if she has a lover, marry him. Whether or not a payment has been made to the father, the father does not have to make any restitution to the husband in case the marriage fails. But the lover or second husband must in either case pay compensation money to the wronged husband. This is rather more expensive than the cost of an unmarried girl, for besides the cost of the woman, a fine must be paid to the community.

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The children of secondary wives are inferior in status to the children of the principal wife, especially as regards inheritance and their relation to the status of their father.

Incest prohibitions forbid marriages between father and daughter and mother and son.

Another legal aspect of the parent-child relation is the mutual duty of maintenance and care. However, the claims of the unilateral family group can, in particular instances, set aside the duties and claims of the father or mother. (See page 186 for a more detailed discussion.)

If the father is at hand, he must always act as the representative (wali) of his daughter, in accordance with Islamic law. Between parents and children, inheritance *ab intestato* depends more on the regulations regarding blood kin than on the filial patterns.

Final dissolution of the parent-child relation, such as a father disowning his son, is legally possible in several areas. It is called "mangaliplip" in Angkola and "pegat mapianaq" in Bali.

Children can always be turned over to foster parents for maintenance. This is an act, which while sometimes difficult to distinguish externally from adoption, is an entirely different thing. Adoption means relinquishing the child, but a fostered child can be reclaimed at any time by the parents upon reimbursement for the cost of maintenance.

B. CHILD AND KIN GROUP RELATIONS

There has been little investigation into the question as to whether illegitimate children have the same relations with their kinsmen as do legitimate children in those locales where unmarried mothers and their children are still subject to social disabilities. In Rejang they are not, and the illegitimate child is outside the kin group. But in Java there is apparently no difference in the kinship status of legitimate and illegitimate children. Wherever the father must assume responsibility for his illegitimate offspring, the child's relationship to the father's kin is regularized.

The variability of kinship systems (the social evaluation of the biological family relationships) has already been reported on in Chapter I. Only a few points need to be stated or repeated here.

In some law-areas there is no difference between the relative positions of the father's family or the mother's kin group with respect to the child. This is the parental or bilateral relationship system.